TIRHUT (NORTH BIHAR) AND BIHAR (SOUTH BIHAR) UNDER MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ : A. D. 1325-1351

By

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As in the Mamluk and the Khalji periods so likewise under the Tughluqs,[1] Bihar remained[2] divided roughly into two broad geographical and political units, Tirhut and Bihar. There is ample historical evidence proving the hold of Muhammad Bin Tughluq (A. H. 725-752/A. D. 1325-1351) on the province of Bihar both north and south.

TIRHUT

Ziauddin Barani[3] has cited Tirhut as one of the *wilayats* (divisions) of his empire. According to him, in the course of twenty-seven years, he prevailed over the dominions of several kings and brought the people of Tirhut and other countries under his rule; and the *kharaj* (tribute) of the various territories (*iqlims*) like those of the district of Delhi were fixed in the *Kushk-I-Hazar Satun* (The Palace of a Thousand Pillars) of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq i. e. by the central goverment. Barani[4] points out that in the early part of Muhammad Tughluq's reign the work of *Diwan-i-wizarat* (Revenue Department) was marked by smoothness, regularity and efficiency and the *kharaj* or tribute from even distant divisions or territories (*iqlims*, wilayats) including Tirhut was a well regulated affair like those of the towns and villages of the Doab. Moreover, the regular summaries of income and expenditure (*mujmilat-i-jama va kharch*) received by the Central Revenue Department (*Diwan-i-Wizarat-i-Dehli*) from the *na'ibs*, *wazirs*, *walis* and *mutasarrifs* of those territories (*iqlim*)

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1. The Tughluqs were *Qaraunah* Turks of mixed origin. The term *Qaraunah* is connected with the Sanskrit *Karana* which means mixed caste. The Turks married Indian women as early as the reign of Balban and during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq when he was the governor of Dipalpur married (about A. D. 1313) Rajab, his younger brother, with the daughter of Rana Mall Bhatti of Abohar. For details RFMT, pp. 16-23; 45-52.
2. Refer the writer's paper entitled "Historical Geography of Bihar on the eve of the early Turkish invasions" published in the JBRS, xlix (1963), pp. 253-260 and chapters I, III, IV & V of his thesis "Bihar Under Turkish Rule : A. D. 1203-1413" approved for Ph. D. by the Patna University.
3. BTFS, pp. 467, 468; also HIED, iii, p. 126.
4. Ibid, pp. 468-469.

were scrutinised without any laxity and after examining the records the central government realised strictly from them, the revenues and arrears without foregoing even a farthing[5] (*dang va diram*). Nizamuddin Ahmad corroborates[6] Barani's statement.

Ibn-i-Battuta takes no notice either of the name 'Bihar' or 'Tirhut' for he only describes those places through which he happened to pass or about which he had the opportunity to hear something striking or unusual. Sujan Rai[7] like Ziauddin Barani makes reference to the *wilayat of Tirhut* as part of the Delhi Sultanate in the early phase of Muhammad Bin Tughluq's rule.

Tirhut became a mint town of the Tughluq empire. There are coins of Muhammad Bin Tughluq bearing the mint name of *Tughluqpur-urf-Tirhut.* One copper coin[8] dated A.H 731/A.D. 1330-31 having *iqlim Tughluqpur-urf-Tirhut* as the mint name is struck in his own name. On the obverse it carries the superscription "he who obeys the sovereign truly he obeys the merciful one (God)". (*Min ata-us Sultan faqd ata-ur-Rahman*). Another coin[9] dated A. H. 735/A. D. 1334-35 and with the mint name of *iqlim Tughluqpur-urf-Tirhut* is of gold and is also struck in his own name. Mulla[10] Taqia corroborates the numismatic evidence when he states that the town of Darbhanga, under the emperor's order, was

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5. Ibidem. Also Ferishtah. Tarikh, i, p. 134.
6. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (De), i, p. 217. He states that Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq exerted himself so much in the administration of his dominions that within a shart period the revenue and the abstracts of the receipts, and the disbursements of the distant provinces including Tirhut arrived in Delhi, just like those of the towns in the Doab, and the authority of the governors and other officials was so firmly and completely established, that not one of the headmen, or other turbulent persons, in those places, could either by way of concealment or by way of obduracy keep back a diram out of the imperial revenues
7. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (KBOPL : MS), f. 22la. It was written in A. D. 1695-96.
8. CCIM, ii, p. 60 No. 384; CMSD, p. 140, No. 579, pl. vii; JASB, xliii (1883), p. 60, No. 32 pl. v, fig 32 and p. 62; also see JIH, xl (1962), p. 398.
9. CMSD, p. 117 No. 478 pl. vi, fig. 478; whittel, H. M, "220-The Coins of Muhammad Bin Tugluq" (Numismatic Supplement No. xxxv; JASB (NS) xvii (1921), p. 132. Qanungo, however, makes it appear that the mint town of *Tugluqpur-urf-Tirhut* was established in the time of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. DUHB, ii, p. 84.
10. *Bayaz* : Maasir (May-June 1949), pp. 90-91.

given the appellation of Tughluqpur. He would also have us believe[11] that when Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq ascended the throne he placed the fort at Harsinghpur (Darbhanga) belonging to Rājā Harasimha in

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11. Ibidem. Mulla Taqia, however, erroneously places the flight of Harasimha in the reign of the Sultan and says that this event took place after the Rājā's flight. If it at all happened it should be placed early after Muhmmad Bin Tughluq succeeded his father Ghiyasuddin Tugluq who had conquered Tirhut from Rājā Harasimha. According to a non-contemporary Vamsāvali (genealogical list) written about A. D. 1400 "on 446 Nepal Samvat Māgha Sukla Sudi 3/7 January 1326 Tirhuti Rājā Harsimha being attacked by the Turks from Delhi (Dhilisa Turaka) was compelled to flee abandoning Simraon (Simaravana) which was destroyed with almost all his family and ministers, The Rājā enterd the hilly country and was in distress. He was on the way to Rajagrama (Rajgaon) within Dolkha, (situated to the south-east of Nepal valley) and died in Tinpata which lies between the Chursa and Sindhuli about sixty miles south-east of Kathmandu (Nepal). Thereafter his Mahatha (minister) and son and all others were arrested and carried off as prisoners by one Majhi Maghiram Bharo, (a noble man) of Rajagrama who also took all their wealth," JBRS, xlvi (1960) p. 18; Mediaeval History of Nepal, pp. 112,5-8; also cf. Luciano Petech "Mithila and Nepal" JBRS, xlviii (1962), p. 17. Mulla Taqia who says that this happened in Muharram A. H. 726/December-January A. D. 1326 Maasir : May-June, 1949), pp. 89-90, apparently gathered his information from some such source. According to a local tradition, on which reliance cannot be placed, Harasimhadeva entered Nepal in A. D. 1325-1326, and while on his way to Nepal he took rest, for a while, in a village named Umagrama (Darbhanga) and died there (JBRS, xlvi (1960), pp. 18-19). Here the account of the Mulla is incorrect and untrustworthy. Ikhtisan's eye-witness account which ascribes the events to the time of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq makes no mention of the Rājā's arrest and clearly indicates his flight (cf. Basatin-ul-Uns (MS), ff. 11a-13a quoted in S. H. Askari's "Historical Value of Basatin-ul-Uns A Rare literary work of the early 14th Century" JBRS, xliii (1962), pp. 10-12). Mulla Taqia's *Bayaz* tells us that shortly after his return from Tirhut Ghiyasuddin Tughluq died and was succeded by Muhammad Bin Tughluq, and the Rājā on the occasion of the Sultan's accession probably asked for favours on condition of remaining in future a loyal and obedient tributary vassal. The Sultan granted his request for a conditional restoration of the territory of Tirhut and bestowed upon him a dress of honour and gifts. In short after his accession Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq released Rājā Harasimhadeva and sent the latter back to his '*raj*' in Tirhut. But not long after the Rājā again appears to have assumed a defiant and hostile attitude. To point this out Mulla Taqia narrates the incredible story of the evasions of the Rājā's minister Bireshwar Thakur (Purusha Parikshā (Grierson's Tr.), p. 36 fnl Tale : 8 says that Vireshwar Thakur was (war) minister to Harasimhadeva of the Karnata dynasty of simraon) with the former's concurrence regarding the surrender into royal treasury of a valuable stone (possibly as a substitute of the tribute-money due), provoking the Sultan so much on the report of the emissary containing allegation against Rājā

the charge of a Muslim *Kotwal*, Shah Sufi. We are further[12] told by him that a fort and a mosque were built by the order of the emperor Muhammad Bin Tughluq at Darbhanga. Writing in Akbar's days he relates[13] that the mosque with the Arabic inscription on its arch still intact was there as before, although it had cracked during the earthquake of A. H. 911/A. D. 1505. The Mulla has given in his *Bayaz* the full text[14] of the inscription. It records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Muhammad, son of the good sultan (*as-saeed*) the Martyred Ghazi (*ash-shahid-ul-Ghazi*) Ghiyasuddin in A. H. 726/A. D. 1326. From the Mulla's account it appears that he visited Darbhanga personally, saw the mosque and recorded the text of the inscription which he found intact on the mosque.

The later years of Muhammad Bin Tughluq's reign witnessed increasing troubles culminating in rebellions and disintegration. Between A. H. 739/A. D. 1338 and A. H. 741/A. D. 1341[15] as a result of a revolution in Bengal Sonargaon (Eastern Bengal) as well as Lakhnauti (Western Bengal) became independent of Delhi. Malik Baidar surnamed Qadr Khan, the governor of West Bengal nominated by Muhammad Bin Tughluq was assassinated in A. H. 739/A. D. 1339 by those agitating against Delhi government's control over the province. Fakhra, the armour-bearer (*silahdar*) of Tatar Khan entitled Bahram Khan, the centrally nominated governor of East Bengal after killing his master assumed the title of Sultan Fakhruddin and sent his slave Mukhlis to capture

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Harasimha that he decided to punish him. The reappearance of the Rājā's insolence made the Sultan furious to the extent that he ordered Majd-ul-Mulk, the Muqti of Bihar, to put the Rājā in permanent imprisonment and confiscate his territories in Tirhut. The Rājā getting scent of the danger managed to escape to the hills in the *Muharram* of A. H. 726/December-January A. D. 1326 and was heard of no more. These traditions and accounts being unreliable, the dates mentioned in them should not be relied upon. Till further evidence is forthcoming it is difficult to say if the reference in the *Bayaz* to Majd-ul-Mulk the Muqti of (South) Bihar who has been mentioned frequently in fourteenth century hagiological books of Bihari sufi saints is of some significance.

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. For Bengal's history during the period see BTFS, p. 480; Yahia, p. 104; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Bib. Ind.), i, pp, 230 231; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Bib. Ind.) i, p. 241; *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 398-399; RFMT, pp. 163-164; SHMB, pp. 26, 27 and Feristah, *Tarikh*, ii, pp. 295-296 who says that Sultan Alauddin Ali Shah ruled for one year and five months.

Lakhnauti, but the latter was murdered by Ali Mubarak, muster-master (*Ariz-i-Lashkar*) of Qadr Khan. Ali Mubarak eventually emerged victorious on the political scene, established the kingdom of West Bengal, assumed the title of Sultan Alauddin Ali Shah and transferred his capital from Lakhnauti to Pandwah. Obviously, the two Bengals, Sonargaon under Fakhruddin or Fakhra and Lakhnauti under Alauddin, could not have lived on friendly terms. Afterwards Fakhra was captured by Alauddin.

Isami in his *Futuh-us-Salatin*[16] writes that a rebel had proclaimed himself king in Lakhnauti, and both Gaur and Tirhut served as the place of refuge for rebels against Muhammad Bin Tughluq's authority. Towards the last phase of his reign, according to the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai, who relies probably on some earlier authority, uprisings took place in the *wilayats* of Tirhut, Bahraich, Devagarh and Gujerat and in the other parts of the country.[17] Ali Mubarak, who assumed kingship with the title of Sultan Alauddin in West Bengal may be identified with the anonymous rebel mentioned in the *Futuh-us-Salatin*. Sultan Alauddin's rule lasted till A. D. 1343, when he was assassinated by his foster-brother Haji Ilyas Shah entitled Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah. Ilyas became master of Western Bengal (Lakhnauti) in A. H. 745-46/A. D. 1344-45, and he established himself in A. H. 753/A.D. 1353 in Eastern Bengal.[18] Thus he united the whole of the Muslim kingdom of Bengal under him.

The Bediban (Champaran district) inscription belonging to the twenty-first regnal year of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq alludes to the hold of the Tughluqs on areas of North Bihar even towards the closing years of his reign. The epigraphic record is in Arabic and was found inside a domed building in village Bediban very near to the north of Pipra in Champaran district of North Bihar. It refers[19] to the construction

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16. *Futuh-us-Salatin* (Madras ed.) vide TKB, i. p. 139 ; Ibid (Agra ed.) omits reference to Gaur and Tirhut.
17. *Kulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (KBOPL : MS), f. 225b.
18. ATFS, p. 137 ; CPKD. pp. 267, 269.
19. For a correct reading with a clear facsimile see EIAPS (1961), pp. 25-26 ; also Current Studies (Patna : 1954), p. 12 n7 where the reading is marked by incorrectness and ommissions ; JBRS, xlii (1955), p. 166 where the legible plate is given but the inscriptional record has been incorrectly read. Refer also Champaran District Gazetteer (1960), pp. 150-151. The inscription could not be deciphered by Cunningham, who has given a rather illegible plate

of a well, which was completed during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughluq Shah and governorship *(naubat-i-in'am)* of Malik-ul-Umara Izzuddin *Qazi-i-Muhr-i-Khas* under the superintendence of slave Mahmud, son of Yusuf on the 20 *Rabi-ul-Awwal* A. H. 747/11 July A. D. 1346. The Bediban inscription shows that at this time Malik-ul Umara Izzuddin was the governor of the regions of Tirhut. This would mean that some time before July A. D. 1346 the governorship of Ahmad Khan, son of Malik Tabligha came to an end in Tirhut and Malik-ul-Umara Izzuddin was one of his successors. The latter could not have been the immediate successor of Ahmad Khan, who was installed as the administrator of Tirhut or North Bihar on behalf of the Delhi Government by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq after his conquest of the land of Tirhut in the closing year (A. D. 1325) of his reign. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries territories were ruled[20] by bureaucratic rather than feudal governors and therefore Ahmad could not have held the charge of Tirhut continuously for twentyone years (A. D. 1325-1346).

Thus literary, numismatic and epigraphical pieces of evidence conclusively prove that north Bihar was subject directly to the Delhi sultan, and its status was tributary.

Perhaps it was owing to the frequency or recurrence of rebellions and disorders towards the end of his reign that he was compelled to introduce changes in the administrative setup of Tirhut. He appears to have not only discontinued the direct rule of a muslim military governor over Tirhut but also nominally restored it to Hindu rule under Kamesvara. The Mithila tradition seems to maintain that emperor Firoz appointed Kamesvara as a tributary vassal in Tirhut.[21] But this point is not supported by Mulla Taqia, who asserts[22] that Muhammad Bin Tughluq installed Kamesvara, the founder of the Oinwara dynasty, as his vassal in Tirhut

(ASIR, xvi (1883), pp. 25, 26 plate ivF) and wrongly ascribed it to Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur who reigned from A H. 844/A. D. 1440 to A, H. 863/A. D. 1459, for he misread Mahmud for the very clear Muhammad, and *Saman Mayata* or 800 for *Saba Mayata* or 700 and missed the important words *bin Tughluq Shah* (ibid, pp. 25, 26). Obviously, these misreadings erroneously led him to conclude that it is dated A. H. 847/A. D. 1443 and not A. H. 747/A. D. 1346. It was first deciphered and assigned to the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughluq by S. H. Askari. Current Studies *(Patna ; 1954)*, p. 12.

20. ASMI. *(Appendix B)*. pp. 216-223.

21. JBRS, xl (1954), p. 101.

22. *Bayaz :* Ma sir (May-June 1949), pp. 93-94. In his *Bayaz* he perhaps loosely

and directed Haji Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah of Lakhnauti to supervise its administration and to realise the tribute (*Kharaj*) from the territories of Tirhut. Perhaps this account indicates the correct position. Kamesvara Thakkura belonged to a Brahmin family of the village of Oini in the district of Darbhanga. During the early phase of his reign he possibly ruled from Sugauna in Madhubani Subdivision of Darbhanga district, and the line of kings that he founded is usually known as the Thakkura or Oinwar or as the Sugauna dynasty.

BIHAR

As regards South Bihar the accounts of contemporary travellers (Mubarak Bin Mahmud and Abu Safa Sirajuddin Umar) which are preserved in the *Masalik-ul-Absar Fi Māmalik-ul-Amsar*[23] (Travels of the eye into

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speaks of Tirhut as the *Wilayat of Darbhanga* and has it that Darbhanga remained the capital of Tirhut up to the time of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq. In some other connection Minhaj too mentions Darbhanga and Tirhut separately. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*), p. 179 ; Raverty (Tr.), p. 627 omits Darbhanga). There is no proof that these constituted two separate *Wilayats* or principalities of North Bihar. In another place Mulla Taqia mentions the terms *Wilayat of Darbhanga* and *Wilayat of Tirhut* for the same areas of North Bihar. (*Bayaz* : Maasir (May-June 1949), pp. 80, 85-87). The term *Wilayat of Tirhut* has been used in connection with the Khaljis. Not unlikely, either Tirhutta (Darbhanga district) near Rajnagar and Laheriasarai or Tirhoot, an old name for Muffarpur in district Darbhanga extended its name to the surrounding country of Tirhut or North Bihar for some reason or other. Perhaps the name Darbhanga also came to be used lightly and unthinkingly for it, since whichever of the two places that might have given the name to the region around it, was situated in district Darbhanga and in proximity to the town of Darbhanga.

23 HIED, ii, p. 575; TKB, i, pp. 309-310. The *Masalik-ul-Absar* mentions Bihar but not Tirhut. It speaks of Telingana (Tilank) and Tilanj Darusamand (i. e. Telingana (?) and Dvara-samudra). A *MS* of the same work mentions Tilanj (Telingana) twice. (Cf. *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 106 fn. 6). The second mention is seemingly a mistake for Tirhut. The *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* writing of Hindustan (North India) states that "On travelling from Dehli (Delhi) you proceed in this wise—Iwaz (Awadh), Badaun, Kara-Manikpur, Bihar, Sylhet, Lakhnauti. Each of these places comprises several subordinate villages, and there are strong forts and towns and other inhabited spots, which are not small in number. (HIED, iii, p. 36). The *Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar wa Tajriyat-ul-Asrar* (A Ramble through the Regions and the Passing of Ages) or *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* was compiled in the early decades of the fourteenth century (A. D. 1300-1328) outside India. Its author Abdullah Wassaf gathered his materials from the oral accounts of trustworthy persons. It is a history of the Mongols in Persia but also makes reference to India.

the Kingdoms of different Countries) mention that it formed one of the twenty three provinces of Muhammad Bin Tugluq's empire. Shihabuddin was a native of Damascus (Syria) and contemporary of Muhammad Bin Tugluq. He did not visit India personally but collected his information from oversea visitors, and his informants were frequently men of learning and position. The Arabic epigraphical records dated A. D. 1332 and A. D. 1336–37 found at Biharsharif together with the hagiological work *Ma' adan-ul-Ma' ani* suggests that since the thirties of the fourteenth century Bihar remained in the possession of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq. The inscription dated 1st day of the month of *Ramzan*, A. H. 732/27 May 1332 records[24] the building or renovation of a palace in Bihar during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughluq for the (Imperial) *na'ib* (deputy), and tradition[25] calls it the *Sukunat* (residency). Alluding to the hold of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq on Bihar this inscriptional record describes the Tughluq emperor as "Abul Mujahid Muhammad son of Tughluq Shah...the *Kalifah* (Caliph)... the ruler who gives security and safety to the people...[26]" These epithets indicate that people in Bihar remained contented and happy at least in the years covered by the first phase of his reign. It is quite understandable, for[27] the first part of his reign (A. D. 1325-1335) was comparatively prosperous and peaceful than the second part of the reign (A. D. 1335-1351), which saw increasing disorder and unrest leading to the disintegration of the empire. The epigraphical record dated A. H. 737/A. D. 1336-37[28] mentions the reigning king Muhammad Bin Tughluq and refers to the building of a portico probably by a near relation of the emperor in the same year. The *Ma'adan -ul-Ma'ani*,[29] a contemporary *Malfuz* (collection of sayings) of Makhdum Sharfuddin Ahmad Maneri compiled by Zain Badr Arabi refers to the construction of the *Khanqah* in the time of Malik Zainuddin Majdul Mulk the Muqti of Bihar. The *Khanqah* (hospice) was built some time in A. H. 749 A. D. 1348 or before, for it is mentioned in the *Ma' adan-ul-Ma ani*, which contains the discourses of the saint till 15 *Sha' aban* A. H. 749/November 9, A. D. 1348 and, therefore, shows that Muhammad Bin Tughluq held Bihar till the middle of the fourteenth century. The *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* the contemporary bio-

24. *JASB*, xlii (1873), p. 251. Also EI, ii, pp. 291-292.
25. *Ibidem.*
26. *Ibid.* Also EI, ii, pp. 291-292.
27. *RFMT*, pp. 141-142.
28. *JASB*, xlii (1873), p. 300.
29. *Maadan-ul-Maani*, ii, p. 471 ; *Ibid*, i, p. 190 for the full name of the Muqti as given above.

graphy of the same saint compiled by Shah Shoaib, corroborates it by pointing out that[30] Muhammad Bin Tughluq sent orders to Zainuddin Majdul Mulk. the Muqti of Bihar, to have a *khanqah* built for the Shaikh and confer *jagirs* of Rajgir on him. As the *Manaqib* states that the *jagir* was conferred on the Makhdum at the instance of the Sultan, it seems that estates in land were reserved or set apart as royal demesne or crown land out of which endowments for pious and other uses were granted on the order of the emperor. The Malfuz entitled *Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani* also known as *Matlub-ul-Mubarak*, of Ahmad Amun, a disciple of Sharfuddin Maneri compiled after the latter's death by the son[31] of Amun mentions that Kamgar, the governor (*hakim*) of Bihar, who was styled as Majdul Mulk Muqta, had set aside lands in village Chargawan (Ibrahimpur Chargawan) near Shaikhpura in the *Parganah* of *Haveli-i-Bihar* for the great saint for charitable purposes. The village Chargawan now lies in South Monghyr. Obviously the Malfuz suggests the continual sway of the Turks over Monghyr region. Perhaps some of the villages in the vicinity of Bihar, the capital[32] city of South Bihar, were constituted into a *parganah* and given the name of *pargana haveli* (havali)-*i-Bihar*, signifying a *parganah* comprising neighbouring regions of the capital town of Bihar The pre-fix *haveli* (havali) which is still used for Kharagpur, a village in south Monghyr district and in the neighbourhood of Bihar presumably implies that the village formed part of the *parganah* of *haveli* (havali)-*i-Bihar*. The word[33] *haveli* as prevalent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Muslim Kingdom of Delhi generally carried the meaning of "neighbourhood" or "environs". The region in the vicinity of Delhi was known as *haveli-i-*Dehli (The Delhi Country). It denoted an specific administrative area to the west of the Jamuna. It had no governor and was directly under the Revenue Ministry.[34] Similarly the *parganah haveli-i-Bihar* appears to have had enjoyed an exceptional administrative position in that it had no governor and was directly under the revenue department of the *iqta* or

30. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* (Calcutta ed.), pp. 133-134.
31. *Tahkiqat-ul-Maani* (MS), ff. 4b-5a. Cf. II *Majlis* dated 6 *Rajab* A. H. 782/Saturday October A. D. 1380. The actual wordings are as follows : "*Hakim-i-an waqt Majd-ul-Mulk ba ism-i-Kamgar mulaqqab ba Majd-ul-mulk Muqta*"
32. Cf. Writer's thesis *Bihar Under Turkish Rule* : *A. D. 1203-1412* in the Patna University.
33. *ASMI*, p. 23 fn 1.
34. *Ibidem.*

wilayat of Bihar. The subdivision *haveli-i-Dehli* in the Mughal period covered a much smaller area.

It is noteworthy that besides Zainuddin the name Kamgar has also been used with the title and designation of Majdul Mulk the *Muqti* in separate works composed at different duration. The former occurs in the *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani* compiled in the lifetime of the saint and the latter in the *Matlub-ul-Mubarak* and other Malfuzat compiled after his death. It is not known whether the son succeeded the father in respect of his title and office or there was only one Majd-ul-Mulk bearing the name of Zainuddin Kamgar. The *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*[35] mentions Iftikharuddin as a son of Majd-ul-Mulk. If the word *Muqti* meant a governor with more limited powers than a *Wali* rather than a fief holder[36] and his position[37] was bureaucratic not feudal, as Qureshi and Moreland say, then one Majd-ul-Mulk could not have had a long tenure of office, roughly speaking from the fifties to the eighties which covered the period of the Malfuzat.

CHOTANAGPUR PLATEAU

The enormous hilly tracts in the South covering the Chotanagpur Plateau which includes the administrative division of Chotanagpur comprising the five districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Palamau, Dhanbad and Singhbhum besides the greater part of Santhal Parganas and the southern portion of Shahabad, Gaya, Monghyr and the Bhagalpur districts are rarely mentioned by the Muslim historians. The whole of the Chotanagpur plateau known as Jharkhand or the 'forest tract' appears never to have been completely subjugated by the Muslims. The early Delhi Sultans perhaps generally attempted to conquer the easily accesible parts and stationed their military commanders and garrisons in cities and strategic centres.

In this connection we may note Malik Bayyu's exploits in the districts of Hazaribagh and Shahabad. Malik Bayyu, who appears from

35. Zain Badr Arabi, ii, p. 416. The *Maadan-ul-Maani* was compiled in A. H. 749/A. D. 1348 and the following Malfuz *Khawan-i-Pur Ni'amat* which forms its suplement covers the discourses delivered between 15 *Saaban* A. H. 749 (Novem ber 9, A. D. 1348) to the end of *Shawwal* A. H. 751/Demember, A. D. 1350, and the same compiler wrote down the last Malfuz after the death of his preceptor which heppened in A. H. 782/A. D. 1380. The *Matlub-ul-Mubarak* was compiled in A. H. 784/A. D. 1382.

36. *QASD* (1942), pp. 186-187.

37. *ASMI* (Appendix B "Provincial Governors In the Thirteenth And Fourteenth-Centuries") pp. 216-223.

the epigraphical evidences[38] to have died on 20 January A. D. 1353 as the *Muqti* of Bihar perhaps held the same office also during the first twenty-seven months of Firoz Tughluq's reign (i. e. from 23rd March 1351 the time of the emperor's accession till his own death), for according to strong and persistent local traditions noticed by Blochmann[39] and also by Dalton[40] he served under Muhammad Bin Tughluq and led the expeditionary forces into Bihar and successfully fought and subdued the warlike tribes of the province. The Santhal tradition relates[41] that in A. D. 1340 Malik Bayyu led an army into Chai Champa (Hazaribagh district) and overpowered Jangra, the Santhal raja. When the Santhal raja came to know of the approach of Muslim troops, he destroyed his family and put an end to his own existence in the Chai Champa fort. Malik Bayyu occupied the fort and placed it in the charge of Fath Khan Duala, a Muslim officer who died there, and near his grave a *dargah* (shrine) was built. Tradition also assigns[42] Mangarh, a place very close to Chai Champa to a Santhal Chief who left the fort of Mangarh on the advance of the Muslim army.

According to traditions[43] still preserved, Malik Ibrahim Bayyu, a man of saintly character was an inhabitant of Butnagar (Vatanagara ?).[44] He was appointed by Muhammad Bin Tughluq to command the expedition against Hans Kumar, the raja of Rohtasgarh (Shahabad district), whom he defeated at Suraj Pokhar at Bargaon[45] about twentyfive miles north-west of Rohtas. A great number of the raja's soldiers was slain in the battle, and the raja escaped to Rohtasgarh. But the Tughluq army hotly pursued him up to Rohtasgarh where in or near the local fort the raja died fighting.[46]

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38. *JASB*, xlii (1873), pp. 301-302.
39. *Ibid*, pp. 300-301 ; Current Studies (Patna : 1954), p. 14.
40. *DEB*, p. 211. Also Current Studies (Patna : 1954), p. 14.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *DEB*, p. 211.
43. *JASB*, xlii (1873), pp. 300-301. The traditional accounts depicts him as "reading the *Quran* by lamp light". One of the Persian epigraphs found at Bihar describes him as "the angelic Malik Bayyu Ibrahim". *Ibid.*, p. 301.
44. The place is unidentified. Also cf. *Antiquarian Remains In Bihar*, p. 48.
45. Blochmann unreasonably identifies it with its namesake a few miles north of Rajgir in the district of Patna. The Bihar-Nalanda-Rajgir region had been under Turkish occupation for about a century and a half.
46. The traditional account adds that Malik Ibrahim Bayyu soon after, while in the flush of victory was either killed in the same battle o- in an ambush by a body of the Rājā's soldiers, and his dead body, along with the severed head of the Rājā,

Mention may be made of a gold coin[47] of Muhammad Bin Tughluq with illegible date and mint name unearthed in the Sasaram subdivision of Shahabad district in the state of Bihar. But the discovery of this coin is not a convincing proof of the emperor's influence on the southern portions of Shahabad, for it might have been brought there by a traveller.

Emperor Muhammad Bin Tughluq also appears to have exercised political sway over northern portions of the district for the copper plate grant[48] from Bagen near Bihiya shows the issuer, the Chero Chief Bhulla of Bihiya, as the feudatory of a Muslim ruler called *Khalipha Mahamanda Sahi* (Khalifa Muhammad Shah)[49] probably identical with Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq.

It is difficult indeed to establish the exact relation of Jharkhand or Chotanagpur Plateau with the representatives in Bihar of the Delhi sovereign at this time in the absence of reliable evidences. In short, Bihar, which remained under the Bengal rulers during the later Mamluk, the whole of the Khalji and the very early Tughluq period, was again annexed to the Delhi Kingdom under the Tughluqs about the beginning of the thirties of the fourteenth century in the reign of Sultan Muhammad as is evident from inscriptional records.

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was brought to Bihar and buried near his mausoleum. The traditonal account further adds that the mausoleum is on the top of the Bihar Hill, and the Rājā's head was buried at the foot of the hill which still bears the name of *Munda Mala*. But all this is a clear case of an interpolation. Malik Bayyu died in A. D. 1353 (JASB, xlii, 1873, pp. 301-302) and was buried on the top of Pir Pahari or Bari Pahari, an isolated hill situated about two miles to the north-west of the town of Bihar. *Ansab-i-Sharfi* (MS), p. 25, a work compiled in the early twentieth century records a tradition which suggests that Amir Saiyyad Shamsuddin alias Saiyyad Ahmad Maneri came to Bihar along with Saiyyad Ibrahim also known as Malik Baya (Bayyu) during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughluq and participated in the military operations carried against the turbulent, hostile, and refractory elements in Bihar under Malik Bayyu. This traditional account further describes him as a commander in the army of Sultan Firoz Shah.

47. *JNSI*, v (1943), p. 162 plates ixC and ixD.
48. D. C. Sircar : "Recent Study Of Epigraphic And Numismatic Records" JBRS, xlvii (1961), p. 15. The Bagen grant is said to contain a date which corresponds to 3 June A. D. 1324. But the accession of the Sultan took place in A. D. 1325 i. e. to a date later than that of the grant. Presumably, the date as contained in the plate has not been correctly read. Even if the grant is held spurious, its contents may not yet be wrong.
49. The Biharsharif inscription of A. D. 1332 describes him as Muhammad and uses the title of *Khalifa* (Caliph) for him. JASB, xlii (1873), p. 251 ; EI, ii, pp. 291-292.

ABBREVIATIONS & SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ASIR : *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

ASMI : *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* by W. H. Moreland, Allahabad.

ATFS : *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Shams Siraj Afif, Calcutta, Bib. Ind., 1891.

Bib. Ind. : Bibliotheca Indica.

BTFS : *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Ziauddin Barani, Calcutta, Bib. Ind., 1862.

CCIM : *The Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta,* Volume II, compiled by H. Nelson Wright : Oxford 1907.

CMSD : *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* by H. Nelson Wright, Delhi, 1936.

CPKD : *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* by Edward Thomas. London 1871.

DEB : *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by Edward Tuite Dalton. Calcutta 1872.

DUHB : *History of Bengal,* Volume II, (1200-1757), ed. by Jadunath Sarkar. Dacca University, 1948.

EI : *Epigraphia Indica,* Calcutta.

EIAPS : *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement),* Calcutta.

HIED : *History of India as told by its own Historians* (Volume III) of H. M. Elliot ed. by John Dowson. London.

JASB : *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Calcutta.

JBRS : *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.

JIH : *Journal of the Indian History,* Trivandrum.

JNSI : *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Bombay.

MS : Manuscript.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (Volume I) of Abdul Qadir Badauni ed. by Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Bib. Ind., Calcutta.

NS : New Series.

QASD : *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* by Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Lahore 1942.

RFMT : *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq* by A. M. Husain, London, 1938.

SHMB : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal* (*Down to A. D. 1538*) by Abdul Karim. Dacca (East Pakistan) 1959.

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TKB : *Tughluq Kalin Bharat* (History of the Tughluqs) Part I (1320-1351) ed. by Saiyyad Athar Abbas Rizvi. Aligarh : 1956.